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and physical aging processes can be analytically distinguished. Age identification rather than actual age constrains older people to recognize changes in themselves and to perceive that the attitudes of others toward them have changed. Analysis revealed that of the two major changes in social status that commonly occur in old age—retirement and widowhood—only retirement appears to hasten the onset of old age. Two hypotheses were advanced to explain this difference: one, retirement implies a social judgment that the person has become old, whereas widowhood, because it comes about through a natural event, does not have this implication for the older person; two, retirement has more serious consequences for age identification because it removes the individual from a significant peer group, whereas death of the spouse directly disrupts only a single, albeit a highly significant, relationship. The finding that participation in a friendship group serves to forestall a shift in age identification, but that the number of close friends and the frequency of contact with one's closest friend do not, provides support for the second hypothesis. However, the fact that participation in a friendship group appears to be less effective in retarding shifts in age identification among the retired than among the widowed indicates that the loss of the work group only partially explains the greater influence that retirement exerts an age identification. It, therefore, furnishes inferential evidence for the first hypothesis that the cultural evaluation implied by retirement, but not by widowhood, tends to force the person to recognize that he is socially defined as old.

THE ACHIEVEMENT SYNDROME: A PSYCHOCULTURAL DIMENSION OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION *

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THE empirical generalization that upward mobility is greater among members of the middle class than those of the lower strata has been explained in several alternative ways.[1] It has been suggested, for example, that social strata possess different physical characteristics which affect mobility, that as a result of certain selective processes persons in the upper and middle strata are, on the average, more intelligent, healthier, and more attractive than those in the lower strata.[2] More frequently, differential mobility is described as a function of the relative opportunities available to individuals in the social structure. This structural dimension of stratification is explicit in the "life chances" hypothesis in which it is argued that money, specialized training, and prestigeful contacts —factors which affect access to high position—are relatively inaccessible to individuals in the lower social strata.[3] Such explanations are relevant and consistent with one another. They lack exhaustiveness, however, since neither explanation takes into account the possibility that there may be psychological and cultural factors which affect social mobility by influencing the individual's willing-

* Expanded version of paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1955.

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[1] *Cf.* N. Rogoff, *Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility,* Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953; K. B. Mayer, *Class and Society,* New York: Doubleday, 1955; R. Albrecht, "Social Class in Old Age," *Social Forces,* 29 (May, 1951), pp. 400–405.

[2] *Cf.* P. Sorokin, *Social Mobility,* New York: Harper and Bros., 1927. For the relationship of intelligence to social mobility see, C. A. Anderson, *et al.,* "Intelligence and Occupational Mobility," *Journal of Political Economy,* 60 (June, 1952), pp. 218–239.

[3] Factors of this sort have been abundantly studied. See H. Pfautz, "The Current Literature on Social Stratification: Critique and Bibliography," *American Journal of Sociology,* 58 (January, 1953), especially pages 401–404.

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ness to develop and exploit his talent, intelligence, and opportunities.

It is the thesis of this paper that class differential rates of vertical mobility may be explicated also in terms of a psychocultural dimension of stratification, that is, as a function of differences in the motives and values of social classes.[4] More specifically, this study examines empirically the notion (long current in sociology, but for which there is as yet insufficient empirical verification) that social classes in American society are characterized by a dissimilar concern with achievement, particularly as it is expressed in the striving for status through social mobility.[5] It is hypothesized that social classes possess to a disparate extent two components of this achievement orientation. The first is a psychological factor involving a personality characteristic called *achievement motivation* (or, in Murray's terminology, *need achievement*) which provides an internal impetus to excel. The second is a cultural factor consisting of certain *value orientations* which define and implement achievement motivated behavior. Both of these factors are related to achievement; their incidence, we suggest, is greater among persons of the middle class than those in the lower class.

[4] A review of recent investigations of some psychocultural dimensions of social stratification can be found in H. Pfautz, *op. cit.* While a number of personality correlates of social class have been delineated, there have been no studies of the relationship of class to the achievement motive as such, though C. W. Mills' notion of the "competitive personality" comes closest to approximating the personality characteristic examined in this study. See his, *White Collar,* New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. Of the many studies of the cultural correlates of social class, two which have particular relevance for the problem examined in this paper are H. Hyman, "The Value System of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in R. Bendix and S. Lipset (editors), *Class, Status and Power,* Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953; and T. Parsons, "A Revised Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," in Bendix and Lipset, *op. cit.*

[5] A. Green in his introductory text, *Sociology,* New York: McGraw-Hill, 1952, regards the middle class' high level of achievement drive, as expressed through status striving, as its single most pronounced characteristic. However, the data to support this conclusion are largely of an anecdotal, or highly qualitative nature. See C. W. Mills, *op. cit.*; A. Davis, B. Gardner, and M. Gardner, *Deep South,* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941.

The task of this paper is threefold: (1) to make a preliminary attempt at determining whether social strata are dissimilar with respect to these two factors by examining their incidence among a group of randomly selected adolescents stratified by social position, (2) to indicate the significance of these factors for differential occupational achievement, and (3) to suggest some class related origins of achievement motivation and values.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The universe from which the study sample was drawn is the entire male population of sophomores in two large public high schools in the New Haven area. This group was stratified by the social position of the main wage-earner in the family (in most cases the father) through data secured by questionnaire and according to a scheme developed by Hollingshead.[6] His Index of Social Position utilizes three factors: (1) occupation, (2) education, and (3) ecological area of residence. Each factor is scaled and assigned a weight determined by a standard regression equation. The combined scores group themselves in five clusters (social strata) and to each of these a numerical index is assigned. The highest status group is labeled Class I; the others follow in numerical order, Class V being the lowest. Respondents were drawn randomly from each stratum: 5 subjects from Class I (the entire Class I Sophomore population in the two schools), 25 from Class II, and 30 each from Classes III, IV, and V. In all there are 120 subjects, all of them white, ages 14 through 16; the modal age is 15.

It was hypothesized that social strata are dissimilar with respect to two factors related to achievement: that is, achievement motivation and achievement value orientation. By achievement motivation we mean an anticipation of an increase in affect aroused by cues in situations involving standards of excellence. The behavior of people highly motivated for achievement is persistent striving activity, aimed at attaining a high goal in some area involving competition with a standard of excellence. In relation to these standards of excellence the achievement ori-

[6] For a fuller exposition of this scheme see, A. Hollingshead and F. C. Redlich, "Social Stratification and Psychiatric Disorders," *American Sociological Review,* 18 (April, 1953), pp. 163–169.

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ented person directs his efforts towards obtaining the pleasure of success and avoiding the pain of failure. Value orientations are defined (following the manner described in William's *American Society*) as meaningful and affectively charged modes of organizing behavior, as principles that guide human conduct. They establish the criteria which influence the individual's preferences and goals; they act as spectacles through which the individual sees himself and his environment. Two techniques were employed to measure these factors. A projective test (a technique which does not rely upon the person's self knowledge) was used to measure the adolescent's achievement motivation; the direct questionnaire was used to measure his values.

The personality correlate of achievement called "achievement motivation" has been investigated by McClelland and his associates.[7] Using a Thematic Apperception Test type measure, they have developed a projective test whose scoring system is designed to detect and measure the degree to which a person thinks about and is emotionally involved in competitive task behavior that is evaluated against a standard of excellence. As is customary in the TAT testing procedure, the subject is presented with a set of fairly ambiguous pictures and asked to tell a story about each of them. His imaginative responses are then scored for evidences of achievement motivation. Two criteria must be satisfied before a story can be scored as containing achievement imagery. First, the events and people in the stories must show some evaluation of individual performance in relation to and competition with a standard of excellence, e.g.: "The boy has done a *good* job in the exam." Second, some affect, either positive or negative, must be connected with the evaluated performance, e.g.: "He is *unhappy* because he lost the essay contest." It is the assumption of the test that the more the individual shows indications of evaluated performance connected with affect in unstructured situations the greater the degree to which achievement motivation is part of his personality.

This projective test was administered to the subjects in the following standardized way. Subjects were assembled during the school day in small groups (20 to 30 persons) in a school room equipped with a screen and a slide projector. The test administrator explained to the students that they were going to see a series of pictures and that their task was to write a story about each picture. In his instructions to the subjects the administrator made no effort to manipulate the motive of the students. Since all testing was done in the school, it was expected that each boy would bring to the test his normal achievement motivation level induced by the cues of the school. The same administrator was used throughout the tests.[8]

Following the test, the subjects were asked to fill out a structured questionnaire, part of which contained items (the content of which is described in a later section of this paper) designed to index their value orientations. These items took the form of statements with which the subjects were asked to agree or disagree, and are centered around certain kinds of values that we felt are related to scholastic and vocational achievement.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Social Stratification and the Achievement Motive. The findings of this study support the hypothesis that social strata differ from one another in the degree to which the achievement motive is characteristic of their

[7] D. McClelland, S. Atkinson, R. Clark, and E. Lowell, *The Achievement Motive*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953.

[8] Experiments have shown that motivation scores vary with the conditions under which the test is given. The kind of instructions preceding the test are known to affect the test scores. These instructions are basically of three kinds: *achievement-oriented* instructions which produce cues aimed at increasing the score; *relaxed* instructions which tend to de-emphasize the arousal of the motive; and *neutral* instructions that are aimed at obtaining a measure of the normal level of motivation a subject brings to a situation. Instructions used in this study were of the neutral type. The impact of the school situation had upon the scores is unknown, but we believe that in effect this factor was controlled since all subjects were tested in the same situation. Further information on the various methods for administering this test, and their significance for the test results, can be found in D. McClelland, *et al., op. cit.*, Ch. 3. The test protocols were scored by two judges. The Pearson product moment correlation between the two scorings was plus .89, an estimate of scoring reliability similar to those reported in earlier studies with this measure.

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members. Furthermore, the data indicate that members of the middle class tend to have considerably higher need achievement scores than individuals in the lower social strata. Plotted on a graph, the mean achievement scores of the social classes fall along a regression curve: the highest mean score in Class II (the group most likely to be described as middle class when the trichotomy of upper, middle, and lower class is used), a somewhat lower score in Class I, and progressively lower scores in an almost linear fashion in Classes III, IV, and V. Reading in numerical order from Class I to V, the mean score for each class is 8.40, 8.68, 4.97, 3.40, and 1.87. The mean score for Class II is more than four times as great as the score for Class V.[9]

A test of the statistical significance of this association between social position and achievement motivation is shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION BY SOCIAL CLASS

Achievement Motivation Score	Social Class I and II	III	IV	V
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Low	17	57	70	77
High	83	43	30	23
Number	(30)	(30)	(30)	(30)

χ^2: 26.6.
$P < .001$.

In order to simplify presentation, subjects whose scores fall below the approximate median for the entire sample are categorized as having low achievement motivation; [10] Classes I and II are collapsed into one group because of the scarcity of cases in Class I.[11] The data indicate a clear relationship between social position and motivation score. For example, 83 per cent of the subjects in Classes I and II have high motivation scores, as compared with 23 per cent in Class V, a difference that is statistically significant at the .001 level.

Social Stratification and Value Orientation. In itself the achievement motive is not a sufficient cause of upward mobility. Obviously the lack of innate capacity and/or structural opportunities may frustrate the achievement drive, but in addition there are cultural factors which are related to mobility. Among these factors are certain values which affect mobility in that they provide a definition of goals, focus the attention of the individual on achievement, and prepare him to translate motive into action. For example, before the achievement motive can be translated into the kinds of action that are conducive to culturally defined achievement (and hence operate as a factor in social mobility), there must be some definition of the kinds of situations in which achievement is expected and of the goals to which one should or may aspire.

Achievement oriented situations and goals are not defined by the achievement motive; it may provide the impetus to excel, but it does not delineate the areas in which such excellence should or may take place. Achievement motivation can be expressed through a wide range of behavior, some of which may not be conducive to social mobility in our society. The achievement motive can be, and perhaps frequently is, expressed through non-vocational behavior, for example lay religious activity of an individual whose drive to excel finds release through piety or mastery of sacred literature; or it may find an outlet in non-professional "hobby-type"

[9] In a study of personality and value differences between upper-class Harvard freshmen (private school graduates) and middle-class freshmen (public school graduates), C. McArthur, "Personality Differences Between Middle and Upper Classes," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* 50 (March, 1955), pp. 247–254, found that the need achievement level of the middle-class was significantly higher than that of the upper-class. The difference between the two groups in the writer's study was in the same direction noted by McArthur, but was not statistically significant. However, since sampling methods, TAT pictures, and scoring procedures used in the two studies are different, the data are not comparable.

[10] Four pictures were used in this study. The approximate median score for the entire sample was + 4. Sixty-six subjects have a score of + 4 or less; fifty-four subjects a score of + 5 or more. Scores ranged from −4 to + 15. It should be understood that the terms "high" and "low" used in this study do not refer to absolute standards but to relative ranks for individuals in this sample. As yet there are not sufficient data to permit the setting up of norms for broad cross-sections of the population for either achievement motivation or value orientation.

[11] Analysis of the data in which persons in Classes I and II are examined together in one cell or part reveals that the conclusions noted above are not affected when the cells are collapsed.

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behavior. Even when expressed through vocational activity, the achievement motive may be canalized into culturally defined deviant occupations (e.g. the criminal), or into low status vocations (e.g. the individual whose achievement drive is expressed and satisfied through his desire to be the *best* welder among his peers). Whether the individual will elect to strive for success in situations which facilitate mobility in our society will, in part, be determined by his values.

Furthermore, before the achievement motive can be expressed in culturally defined success behavior, there needs to be more than a desire to achieve success; there must also be some awareness of and willingness to undertake the steps necessary for achievement. Such steps involve, among other things, a preparedness to plan, to work, and to make sacrifices. Whether the individual will understand their importance and accept them will, in part, be affected by his values. It must follow, therefore, that differential inter-class rates of mobility cannot be entirely explained as a function of differences in achievement motivation; social classes must also be shown to differ in their possession of these implementary values necessary to achievement.

The notion that social classes possess dissimilar values as part of their distinctive sub-cultures has been suggested by a number of investigators, for example, the Kluckhohns, who have delineated a wide range of differences in the value systems of social strata in American society.[12] In Florence Kluckhohn's schema [13] these values are part of a configuration of value orientations which grow out of man's effort to solve five basic problems that are everywhere immanent in the human situation. While all five of Kluckhohn's orientations are relevant to the problem of achievement, three were selected as especially pertinent for examination in this study: (1) what is the accepted approach to the problem of mastering one's physical and social environment, (2) what is the significant time dimension, and (3) what is the dominant modality of relationship of the individual to his kin. We were interested in determining whether social classes are dissimilar in their possession of these orientations. A brief description of their content (modified somewhat from the way in which they appear in the Kluckhohn schema), and examples of the items used to index each of them, are as follows: [14]

1. *Activistic-passivistic orientation* concerns the extent to which a society or sub-group encourages the individual to believe in the possibility of his manipulating the physical and social environment to his advantage. In an activistic society the individual is encouraged to believe that it is both possible and necessary for him to improve his status, whereas a passivistic-orientation promotes the acceptance of the notion that individual efforts to achieve mobility are relatively futile.

Item 1. "All I want out of life in the way of a career is a secure, not too difficult job, with enough pay to afford a nice car and eventually a home of my own."

Item 2. "When a man is born the success he is going to have is already in the cards,

[12] C. Kluckhohn and F. Kluckhohn, "American Culture: Generalized Orientations and Class Patterns" in *Conflicts of Power in Modern Culture*, edited by L. Bryson, *et al.*, Harper and Bros., 1947. See also, M. Gordon, *"Kitty Foyle* and the Concept of Class as Culture," *American Journal of Sociology*, 53 (November, 1947), pp. 210–217. Other investigators are cited in H. Pfautz, *op. cit.*, pp. 403–404.

[13] F. Kluckhohn, "Dominant and Substitute Profiles of Cultural Orientations: Their Significance for the Analysis of Social Stratification," *Social Forces*, 28 (May, 1950), pp. 376–393.

[14] In all fourteen items were used to index certain of the adolescent's values and perceptions. The nine additional items are as follows:

1. Even though parents often seem too strict, when a person gets older he will realize it was beneficial.
2. If my parents told me to stop seeing a friend of my own sex, I'd see that friend anyway.
3. Parents seem to believe that you can't take the opinion of a teenager seriously.
4. Parents would be greatly upset if their son ended up doing factory work.
5. It's silly for a teenager to put money in a car when the money could be used to get started in a business or for an education.
6. The best kind of job is one where you are part of an organization all working together, even if you don't get individual credit.
7. Education and learning are more important in determining a person's happiness than money and what it will buy.
8. When the time comes for a boy to take a job, he should stay near his parents even if it means giving up a good job.
9. Even when teenagers get married their main loyalty still belongs to their mother and father.

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so he might just as well accept it and not fight against it."

2. *Present-future orientation* concerns a society's attitude toward time and its impact upon behavior. A present-oriented society stresses the merit of living in the present with an emphasis upon immediate gratifications; a future-oriented society urges the individual to believe that planning and present sacrifices are worthwhile, or morally obligatory, in order to insure future gains.

Item 3. "Planning only makes a person unhappy since your plans hardly ever work out anyway."

Item 4. "Nowadays with world conditions the way they are the wise person lives for today and lets tomorrow take care of itself."

3. *Familistic-individualistic orientation* concerns the relationship of the individual to his kin. One aspect of this orientation is the importance given to the maintenance of physical proximity to the family of orientation. In a familistically-oriented society the individual is not urged, or perhaps not permitted, to acquire independence of family ties. An individualistically-oriented society does not expect the individual to maintain the kinds of affective ties which will impede his mobility.

Item 5. "Nothing in life is worth the sacrifice of moving away from your parents."

Responses which indicate an activistic, future-oriented, individualistic point of view (the answer "disagree" to these items) are considered those which reflect values most likely to facilitate achievement and social mobility. These items were used to form a value index, and a score was derived for each subject by giving a point for each achievement oriented response.[15]

An analysis of the data supports the hypothesis that the middle class is characterized by a larger proportion of persons with achievement oriented values than are the lower social strata. The plotting of mean value scores for each class reveals an almost linear relationship between social position and values: the higher the class the higher the value score. Thus the mean scores for the five social strata are in descending order,

[15] The writer is indebted to an earlier, somewhat different scale (based in part on work done by the writer as a member of the "Cultural Factors in Talent Development" project), put together by Fred L. Strodtbeck.

TABLE 2. VALUE ORIENATIONS BY SOCIAL CLASS

Value Score	Social Class I and II	III	IV	V
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Low	23	30	67	83
High	77	70	33	17
Number	(30)	(30)	(30)	(30)

χ^2: 28.9.
$P < .001$.

with Class I first and Class V last, 4.6, 4.1, 3.8, 3.0 and 2.5. This relationship is shown to be statistically significant in Table 2 in which social position is cross-tabulated with value score. To simplify presentation value scores are dichotomized: respondents whose score falls above the approximate median for the entire sample are designated as having a high score. The data reveal that of those adolescents in Class I or II, 77 per cent score high on the value scale, as compared with 17 per cent of the adolescents in Class V. For the entire table, the probability of this level of association occuring by chance is less than one out of a thousand.

Achievement Correlates of Achievement Motivation and Values. Achievement motivation and value orientation were found to be related to different kinds of behavior that affect social mobility. We have stated that the achievement motive expresses itself in concern with performance evaluated against a standard of excellence. In the school situation this performance may be canalized within the framework of scholastic achievement. That this is probably frequently the case can be seen in Table 3 in which motivation scores are cross-tabulated with average school grades. The data show that subjects with high motivation scores are proportionately more likely to achieve grades of

TABLE 3. AVERAGE SCHOOL GRADE BY ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

Average School Grade	Achievement Motivation Score High	Low	Value Orientation Score High	Low
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
"B" or above	69	35	54	46
"C" or below	31	65	46	54
Number	(54)	(66)	(59)	(61)
	χ^2: 13.5. $P < .001$.		χ^2: .833. $P > .30$.	

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"B" or better than are adolescents with low motivation scores: 69 per cent of the former as against 35 per cent of the latter. Value scores, however, proved not to be related to academic achievement, although they are associated with a kind of behavior that is, if not in itself an act of achievement, at least a factor in social mobility in our society. It was found that the individual's value score, but *not* his motivation score, is related to educational aspiration. Thus the data in Table 4 indicate that subjects with high

TABLE 4. SCHOOL ASPIRATION BY VALUE ORIENTATION

School Aspiration	Value Orientation Score		Achievement Motivation Score	
	High	Low	High	Low
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Aspires to go to college	61	33	51	46
Does not aspire to go to college	39	67	49	54
Number	(59)	(61)	(54)	(66)
	χ^2: 13.3. $P < .001$.		χ^2: 1.2. $P > .20$.	

value scores are proportionately more likely to want to go to college than are those with low scores: 61 per cent of the former as compared with 33 per cent of the latter. The relationships between motivation and grades, and between values and aspiration level are statistically significant at the .001 level.

Since high need achievement and value scores tend to occur more frequently among members of the upper and middle than in the lower strata, it is not surprising to find that social strata are different in their academic achievement and educational aspiration levels. This is particularly marked in the case of educational aspiration level, which was found to be considerably higher for adolescents in the upper and middle strata than for those in the lower strata. Thus when subjects were asked, "If you could arrange things to suit yourself, how far would you go in school?" 92 per cent of respondents in the combined category of stratas I, II, and III aspired to continue their education beyond high school, either in college or in a technical school; whereas of the combined stratas IV-V only 47 per cent aspired to go beyond high school.[16]

The hypothesis that this differential in education aspiration is, in part at least, a function of value orientation differences is supported by the data shown in Table 5 in

TABLE 5. VALUE SCORE BY ASPIRATION LEVEL AND SOCIAL CLASS

Aspiration Level	Social Class I–II–III		Social Class IV–V	
	Under-Aspirers	Other-Aspirers	Over-Aspirers	Other-Aspirers
Value Score	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Low	57	23	65	79
High	43	77	35	21
Number	7	53*	17	43†

* Includes those individuals whose aspiration level represents the modal choice for their status group.

† Includes those subjects whose aspiration level is below or at the modal choice for their group.

which under- and over-aspirers are examined. Under-aspirers are those respondents in strata I, II, or III whose educational aspiration level is lower than the modality for their group (i.e. those who do not aspire to go beyond high school); over-aspirers are those adolescents in strata IV-V whose aspiration level is higher than the norm for their group (i.e. those who aspire to go beyond high school). The data in Table 5 in which over- and under-aspirers are compared with one another, and with other members of their class, in terms of their value scores show a clear relationship between over-under-aspiration level and value orientations. Thus fewer under-aspirers have high value scores than do other members of their strata—43 per cent of the former as compared with 77 per cent of the latter; whereas over-aspirers are more likely to have high value scores than are other members of their class—35 per cent as compared with 21 per cent. Furthermore, the class differences in value scores shown in Table 2 virtually disappear when aspiration level is held constant: an earlier

[16] Class differentials in educational aspiration level have been noted by a number of investigators. See, for example, J. A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," *Harvard Educational Review*, 23 (Summer, 1953), pp. 186–203.

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difference of more than 40 per cent between categories I-II-III and IV-V is reduced to 8 per cent when over- and under-aspirers are compared with one another; whereas it is increased when the "other" categories are compared.

The relationship between academic achievement (as measured by average grades) and social class appears to reflect to a considerable extent strata differentials in achievement motivation. Class differences in academic achievement which appear significant on first inspection (e.g., 17 per cent of the subjects in the combined category of Classes I-II-III have averages grades of "A"; only 3 per cent of those Classes IV-V have grades this high; also 54 per cent of the former have average grades of "B" or higher, as compared with 42 per cent of the lower status category) are markedly altered when need achievement score is introduced as a test variable. As can be seen in Table 6

TABLE 6. SCHOOL GRADES BY ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION AND SOCIAL CLASS

Achievement Motivation Score	Social Class I-II-III High	I-II-III Low	IV-V High	IV-V Low
Average School Grades	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
"B" or above	66	32	75	36
"C" or below	34	68	25	64
Number	38	22	16	44

the earlier relationship between class and grades is virtually erased for those with low achievement motivation and slightly reversed for those with high motivation. However, although the differences *between* strata are reduced to a statistically insignificant level, *within* strata differences between individuals with high and low motivation scores remain, thus pointing up the relationship between motivation and academic achievement.

Achievement motivation and achievement oriented values are not, of course, the only factors related to academic success and educational aspiration. The fact that *all* the cells in the contingency tables described here contain some cases clearly indicates that other variables are at work. Among these variables may be such factors as sibling rivalry, the operation of ego defense mechanisms, or motives other than need achievement, for example, the need for power. Furthermore, social classes may be dissimilar in ways other than in their motives or values, and these differences can have significance for achievement. Classes are said to be different in manners, richness of cultural-esthetic experiences, and possibly with respect to intelligence, to a general sense of well being, power, and past history of successful endeavor. All of these factors may contribute to differential class rates of mobility by affecting academic and vocational success and aspiration level. The task of this paper, however, has been to focus upon the factors of achievement motivation and values, although probably in the empirical situation many of the above factors are operative and interactive at the same time.

Whatever the importance present and future studies may show the other factors listed above to have for achievement, the fact remains that this study reveals a significant relationship between achievement motivation and grades, and between values and educational aspiration. This fact is of more than academic interest. There is a nexus, though it is of course not a perfect one, between educational and vocational achievement in our society. Furthermore, the college degree is becoming an increasingly important prerequisite for movement into prestigeful and lucrative jobs; hence an aspiration level which precludes college training may seriously affect an individual's opportunity for social mobility. Since we have shown that achievement oriented motives and values are more characteristic of the middle than the lower strata, it is reasonable to suggest that these variables are, in part at least, factors which tend to create differential class rates of social mobility.

Class Related Origins of Achievement Motivation and Values. The achievement motive and values examined here, while related, represent genuinely different components of the achievement syndrome, not only in their correlates but also in their origins. Value orientations, because they tend to be on a conceptual level, are probably acquired in that stage of the child's cultural training when verbal communication of a fairly complex nature is possible.

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Achievement motivation, on the other hand, probably has its origins in certain kinds of parent-child interaction that occur early in the child's life and are likely to be emotional and unverbalized. Analytically, then, the learning of achievement oriented values can be independent of the acquisition of the achievement motive, though empirically they often occur together.

Several empirical studies have shown that achievement motivation is most likely to be high when the child is urged to obtain, and rewarded for achieving, independence and mastery, accompanied by few restrictions after mastery has been acquired.[17] Winterbottom's study,[18] for example, indicates that mothers of children with high achievement motivation differ from mothers of children who have low motivation in that they: (1) make more demands (particularly for evidences of independence, maturity, and achievement) at early ages; and (2) give more intense and frequent rewards for fulfilled demands.

These are the patterns which are believed to be especially characteristic of middle-class families, although it must be emphasized that the data to substantiate this conclusion are still tentative and often conflicting and that child-rearing practices, like other aspects of American culture, are in constant flux.[19] From babyhood on much of the middle-class child's affect is likely to be associated with achievement related behavior structured for him by the training practices and values of his parents. In the pre-school period the tendency for middle-class parents to make early demands upon their children is reflected in such practices as early toilet training and the intense concern with cleanliness. As the child grows he is frequently urged and encouraged to demonstrate his developing maturity (e.g., early walking, talking, and self care). Signs of precocity are signals for intense parental pride and often lavish rewards. It is precisely this atmosphere which provides, if Winterbottom is correct, a most fertile environment for the growth of the achievement motive.

When the child starts his formal schooling, the achievement oriented demands and values of his parents tend to be focussed on the school situation. From the beginning of his school career the middle-class child is more likely than his lower-class counterpart to have standards of excellence in scholastic behavior set for him by his parents. In fact, the relatively higher position which scholastic attainment has in the middle-class than in the lower-class value system means that more frequently for the middle- than for the lower-class child parental demands and expectations, as well as rewards and punishments, will center around school performance.

Associated with the stress on scholastic achievement are other achievement oriented values that are more characteristic of the middle than the lower class. While it is probably true that the notion that success is desirable and possible is widespread in our society, the implementary values—those which encouraged behavior that facilitate achievement—have long been more associated with the culture of the middle than of the lower class. Middle-class children are more likely to be taught not only to believe in success, but also to be willing to take those steps that make achievement possible: in short, to embrace the achievement value system which states that given the willingness to work hard, plan and make the proper sacrifices, an individual should be able to manipulate his environment so as to ensure eventual success.

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[17] D. McClelland, *et al., op. cit.*, Ch. 9.

[18] M. Winterbottom, "The Relationship of Childhood Training in Independence to Achievement Motivation," University of Michigan Ph.D. Dissertation, 1953.

[19] The uncertain character of data relating to class differences in child rearing is pointed up in the article, R. J. Havighurst and A. Davis, "A Comparison of the Chicago and Harvard Studies of Social Class Differences in Child Rearing," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (August, 1955), pp. 438–442. See also, M. C. Erickson, "Social Status and Child-rearing Practices," in T. Newcomb and E. Hartley (editors), *Readings in Social Psychology*, New York: Holt, 1947; A. Davis, *Social-class Influences Upon Learning*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.

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